

Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

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C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 0435

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR UNGA UR US
SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: USSR IN 31ST UNGA

REF: A) STATE 28904; B) USUN 248

1. BEST EXAMPLES OF ABILITY OF SOVIETS AT 31ST UNGA TO OBTAIN SUPPORT OF LDC FOR RESOLUTIONS IN WHICH LDCS HAVE LITTLE INTEREST ARE, INDEED, IN THE FIELD OF DISARMAMENT. SOVIET INITIATIVES ON MASS DESTRUCTION WEAPON (MDW), NON-USE OF FORCE (NUF) AND CTB WERE ALL ADOPTED WITH LARGE MAJORITIES PROVIDED BY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. LDCS SHOWED LITTLE, IF ANY ENTHUSIASM FOR THESE INITIATIVES BUT CONVERSELY HAD NO INCENTIVE TO OPPOSE THE SOVIETS ON THESE ITEMS NOR DID THEY HAVE STRONGLY HELD VIEWS AGAINST THEIR ADOPTION. SOME LDCS DO REGARD SOVIET MDW INITIATIVE, IN PARTICULAR, AS EFFORT TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON FUTURE WEAPONS IN ORDER TO DIVERT IT FROM WHAT LDCS REGARD AS MORE PRESSING ISSUE OF REDUCING EXISTING NUCLEAR ARSENALS HELD BY SUPERPOWERS.

2. LDCS DID NOT AUTOMATICALLY FOLLOW SOVIET WISHES IN COMMITTEE I, AND THEY EITHER ACTIVELY OPPOSED OR PASSIVELY IGNORED SEVERAL OTHER SOVIET DISARMAMENT POSITIONS AND INITIATIVES. AS NOTED IN REF B, THEY REJECTED THE SOVIET EFFORTS TO LINK
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THE 1978 SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT WITH THE WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE. THE LDCS ALSO FAILED TO RESPOND TO SOVIET HINTS OF FLEXIBILITY ON AN INDIAN OCEAN CONFERENCE.

3. ADOPTION OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL MODIFICATION CONVENTION (ENMOD) WITH SUBSTANTIAL LDC SUPPORT WAS THE RESULT OF A CONCERTED US AND SOVIET LOBBYING CAMPAIGN. THERE IS NO DOUBT

THAT MANY LDCS WOULD HAVE ABSTAINED OR VOTED AGAINST THE PRO-ENMOD RESOLUTION IF THE US AND THE USSR HAD NOT MADE CLEAR THE IMPORTANCE BOTH ATTACHED TO ITS ACCEPTANCE. ALTHOUGH A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY IN LATIN AMERICA, HAD DOUBTS AND RESERVATIONS ABOUT ENMOD, OTHERS WERE WILLING TO ASSOCIATE THEMSELVES AS COSPONSORS OF THE FINNISH RESOLUTION. FINALLY, WITH THE ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT FOR THEIR OWN REASONS OF NIGERIA AND INDIA ON BEHALF OF THE CONVENTION, THE MEXICAN-LED EFFORTS TO RETURN THE CONVENTION TO THE CCD WERE THWARTED. WE WOULD NOT, HOWEVER, REGARD THIS AS AN INSTANCE OF A SOVIET VICTORY PER SE (ALONG LINES OF PARA 3 REFTEL A) BUT RATHER OF A SITUATION IN WHICH A NUMBER OF FACTORS FINALLY SWUNG THE BALANCE IN FAVOR OF THE PRO-ENMOD RESOLUTION.

4. SOME NONALIGNED, OF COURSE, ARE GENERALLY RESPONSIVE TO ANY SOVIET PROPOSAL OR SOLICITATION OF SUPPORT ON DISARMAMENT MATTERS, MOZAMBIQUE AND GUINEA, FOR EXAMPLE, REACTED PROMPTLY TO SOVIET REQUESTS THAT THEY COSPONSOR THE ENMOD RESOLUTION (WITH ZAIRE, THEY WERE THE FIRST AFRICANS TO DO SO). ON SEVERAL "SOVIET" ISSUES, INDIA HAS SERVED AS AN EFFECTIVE PROPAGANDIST AMONG THE NONALIGNED, ALTHOUGH INDIAN LOBBYING ON BEHALF OF THE SOVIET SPECIAL SESSION/WDC POSITION -- AGAINST VIGOROUS YUGOSLAV OPPOSITION -- WAS NOT ONLY UNSUCCESSFUL BUT SIGNIFICANTLY COMPROMISED INDIA'S UTILITY ON OTHER ISSUES.

5. IN SECOND, THIRD, FOURTH AND FIFTH COMMITTEES THE SOVIETS TOOK VIRTUALLY NO INITIATIVES OF THEIR OWN. THE LDCS GENERALLY

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PURSUED THEIR OWN INTERESTS WITHOUT CONSULTATION WITH THE SOVIETS AND THE LATTER WENT ALONG WITH THEM TO SHOW SOLIDARITY WITH THE THIRD WORLD, PUSHING AGAINST THE US, NATO AND MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS WHEN THEY FOUND OPPORTUNITIES TO DO SO. IN SECOND COMMITTEE VOTING ON ECONOMIC ISSUES, HOWEVER, THE SOVIETS GENERALLY JOINED MOST WESTERN COUNTRIES IN ABSTAINING, WHICH ON ONE OCCASION DREW A DIRECT REBUKE FROM A G-77 DELEGATE.
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